Schmittegford E-5 [1921-1924]1929 FLA Dorobo FLA

together. The ribs is made of a single stick bent in an oval and the ends bound together; across it are fastened pieces of tree-rope.[1] Quicklimers (Sifts, X.) have already been mentioned.

The Dorobo have no knowledge of metallurgy, and they have no smoked instruments, pottery, or, apparently, objects of ivory. Metal-work and pottery they buy from the Kenuli.[2]

Trade and Commerce.

Trade is by barter. The Dorobo give the Kenuli honey, dressed skins, and bows in exchange for livestock, tobacco, pottery, beads, and other commodities which they cannot produce themselves. There are no special market-places, but goods are taken to any place where there are Kenuli, and there exchanged.

Land.

(i) *Tenure.*—The forest is divided by the elders into sections, and each family has its own section of forest. The boundaries between family holdings may be paths or rivers.

(ii) *Geographical Divisions.*—The Dorobo divide their country into divisions called *kwet*, *pl.* *kwenuk* (X.). The chief divisions appear to be called Kipkoreon, Sirua, Kimoloingo, Sambiyo (location, X. *sabat*), and Mokogodok. The majority of the present place-names are Kenuli.

The points of the compass are called as follows:—North and South: Kinet (X.). East: Tu-ninet (X. *ulin-kinet* = up). West: Tu'isib-ta (= where[-the-sun]-descends-thither).

III.—Government.

The Kimalilo Kipchigilondi Dorobo have now no chief. The last to hold office was Parkipiroyi[3] arap Ngandigan, who was chief at the time of the Kenuli Punitive Expedition, 1905. He is still alive, though he no longer holds office. The chief was elected, and the office was not hereditary. The chief (*kiruogindoi* (X.)—counsellor) was chosen for "*kipkoyoyo kitin*" ("tongue only" = sense, ability and position). The only form of Government that exists now is a council of elders (*kiruogindoi*, X.), who meet and decide on matters which are brought to them. They seem to have little power of enforcing obedience to their decisions, though they claim

[1] This is described and illustrated, although it is a Kenuli one, since K.K. does not manufacture it.

[2] On the use of bows, see V., "Miscellaneous." These are hardly to be considered as instruments of music.

[3] K. = Kon-kitlon.

4-Huntingford E-F (1918-1919) 1951 FLA Dorobo FLA

133 1000 feet, watered by one main river, the Kipkaren, with its tributaries, and other streams which rise in the forest and flow down into Nandi.

133 The country which the Dorobo claim as their own is part of the North
137 Tinderet Forest Reserve. Most of it is dense forest with tall trees and thick
361 undergrowth; and till recently most of the Dorobo lived right inside it. Their settlements were isolated, though often not very far removed spatially from one another; but they were separated by a solid wall of trees, of which a few hundred yards form a more effective barrier than a mile of open country. Even in the past, however, the Dorobo did not live exclusively inside the forest, and on the southern side overlooking the Nandat valley in particular, where the Nandi were less frequent, they often lived in glades near the edge of the forest. (Thus the chief settlement of the district called
● [103] Sondoyo was situated between the forest proper and the belt of flat-topped acacia thorn trees which surrounds it. Those who preferred to live in the open, however, still kept close to the forest, and a strip of thorn and scrub kept them well enough concealed from the outside world. A man who lived thus, though still close to his trees, might escape some of the damp of the forest, and was just as well placed for hunting and trapping as those who lived inside. In the old days, when there were only Nandi about them, people could live in or out of the forest as they pleased, and could alternate between forest and glade according to season or preference. Nowadays they
[148] are not allowed by the Government to live in the forest, and those who survive and still cling to their own land, living on the surrounding farms as labourers or by charity of the farmers, are all settled as close to the boundary of the forest reserve as they can get, and seldom are they more than 300 yards from it. This boundary is marked by a broad strip from which the bushes and grass are cut, and it acts both as a line of demarcation and as a firebreak.

804 In the old days, Dorobo used to range far from their permanent homes to hunt, coming down to the plains which in those days were swarming with game of all sorts. The Dorobo of the Eastern Bun, Mount Kenya, and Nyiru used to descend to the floor of the Rift Valley to hunt, for the only inhabitants were scattered Masai whom it was easy to avoid; and the Kipkurerek wandered at will over the Uasin Gishu plateau, also thinly inhabited by Masai, and latterly, during the second half of the 19th century, by still less frequent Nandi herdsmen. Even thirty years ago the Plateau carried a good deal of game, and before the coming of the Europeans it was a hunter's paradise.

CAR Today, the Kipkurerek Dorobo are the survivors of a once flourishing and autonomous horde which has lost both its land and the right to its own identity. It was decided by the Government, for several reasons, that the Dorobo should be removed from the forest and settled in Nandi. They were transferred in 1918; but the transaction was not a success, for both Dorobo and Nandi resented the movement, and in a short time the Dorobo were back round the forest, where they were living up to 1949 without any legal right unless as squatters or labourers.

NANDI
CHEPKORIO
KAPSET
SIRIBA
KAPSABET
MOSOPCH
KOSOYO
KIPTUNGA
NYANDO

Schuntingford R-5 (1938-1939) 1954 FLA Dorobo FLA

These of course are relatively small settlements; but there were more people living round and inside the forest in 1937, and a number of these have been scattered owing to the effect of the 1937 move. The manner in which these settlements are distributed may be seen from the map.

3. The Forest

The methods by which primitive people govern themselves and maintain law and order can usually be studied in operation, even if they are not immediately obvious to the casual visitor. The observation of concrete facts and events can elucidate even the unsystematized organizations that are so difficult to understand, and so common in East Africa, where there may often be no chiefs, and no visible authority but groups of old men. Some of the more important peoples of Kenya, like the Nandi, Kamba, and Akamba had systems of this type, and the Dorobo also were similarly organized. But in the case of the Dorobo the difficulties in the way of investigation were greatly increased as a result of the move of 1937, an action which it was hoped would place the Dorobo in more favourable conditions and increase their chances not only of cultural advancement, but of ultimate survival; and in 1938 I was told that no forest council had been held since before 1937. I was therefore unable to observe this aspect of Dorobo life, and the account of their district organization that follows is based on their own statements. Information was obtained from a number of senior Dorobo, and it was possible to check their statements to a certain extent, so that taken in conjunction with the information I collected in 1937 the somewhat slight and unsatisfactory incomplete picture is, I think, correct so far as it goes.

The Dorobo are divided into three age-grades: *ajarisiak*, elders; *mamnik*, circumcised men; and *natik*, boys. The *ajarisiak* and *mamnik* are those who take part in public affairs; *natik* have no voice in them. Women, too, though they have the grades of *ngaitokisiak*, old women; *yamnik*, married women; and *ripik girik*, have no official share in public affairs, however much influence they may have at home over their husbands and relatives. Neither they nor boys may attend council meetings, unless they happen to be major participants in some affair, as for instance, when a widow accuses someone of an offence against her.

The Dorobo divide their forest country into a number of districts called *kwat*, pl. *kwanak*. The names of nine districts are recorded, and these are, from north to south:

1. Lopurur, on the northern edge of the forest.
2. Kulpai: the NW corner of the forest.
3. Siroi: south of Kulpai.
4. Kipkoreon: from Siroi to the SW corner of the forest.
5. Soeiyo: east of Kipkoreon.
6. Sirotiet: between the forest and the Sirotiet river.
7. Kiliegis: east of Kipkoreon.
8. Piret: east of Siroi.
9. Sengalo: east of Siroi.

(continued on the

4:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1953 FLA Dorobo FLA

The year was divided, from the hunting point of view, into the dry season and the wet season. In the wet season people did not generally go out hunting, but stayed at home and set traps to catch antelopes and the like. In the dry season they hunted all sorts of game with bow and arrow in the forest and for shield. Thus, Arap Minie told of how soon after he had been circumcised he was one of a hunting party that went into North Nandi, as far as the hills Kaptepe and Tapuksi[*] near the modern Turbo, some forty miles from the forest, in the days when there were no Europeans there; and another Dorobo spoke of hunting monkeys as far from home as Kapiyet in North Nandi. Leopard, monkey, and pig are still plentiful. Buffalo still exist to the east, in the direction of Timboroa and Londiani, but they have not been hunted by the Dorobo in recent years, in fact, they say, not since about 1900 when the Kaplelac age were warriors. Elephant are no more, but they were found in this area, according to some old men, when the Sawe and Kipkoimet were warriors about 60 to 70 years ago. There are no lion in the forest, but the Dorobo occasionally shot them in the plains. Leopard used to be hunted by organized parties, but this practice has been discontinued for some years, though they are still attacked and killed by individuals if they get aggressive, as in February 1939, when Arap Singiro got his lip torn in a leopard hunt at Sawaiyo. Sometimes traps are made for them, of wire which is picked up on the farms. But trapping leopard is not common, and the trap made by Arap Mosuti which caught a leopard in July 1938 was said to be exceptional. Generally they prefer to hunt a leopard with dogs, as in the old days, when if one was put up by a dog and climbed a tree, the hunter came and shot it.

There is really no close season, as we understand the expression. The trapping season, which did in fact give the game a respite, was not intended for that purpose, but was for the convenience of the hunters themselves, because when it is wet, the forest is difficult to go through, the undergrowth thick, and the ground muddy and slippery; though some have been known to hunt pig there in wet weather.

Dorobo hunting equipment consisted of a bow, poisoned arrows, quiver, knife, and dogs. Spears have never been used by the Kipkoreroh, and the spear trap reported to be found among some Dorobo does not appear ever to have been one of their methods of killing big game. For trapping, a man needs only something to cut the materials with, and, of course, his skill; if he is to make a pit-trap, he needs something to dig with.

Bows are made mainly from the *kwirot* tree (*lordea sp.*) and are about 6 ft. in length. A suitable piece of wood is cut and scraped with a knife-blade till it is smooth and of the right thickness. The bow-string, *ilat*, is made of gut from the giant pig, *ramit*; the gut is stretched, greased and twisted till it becomes sufficiently strong and pliable for use. It is knotted to the ends of the bow an inch or so from each end: no notch is cut in the wood to receive it. Arrow-shafts are made from the *kwenamdet* and *mamita* trees, as well as from split bamboo; they are smoothed with a knife-blade in the same way as

* Some known as Kaiyuman on Kibobos and Kapsaget.

6:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1953 F16 Dorobo F16

other Dorobo would not like it", in the words of one old man. (2) The animals on whose flesh they feed and with whom they themselves have something in common, live in the forest. (3) In the trees live the bees whose honey they eat and drink, a substance as valuable to them as milk to the Nandi. (4) The forest is not only the medium of their life, but their protection. And so even to-day when they can no longer live in the forest, they still think of it as their own, and the division of the parts beside which they have made their settlements is of the utmost importance to them. 423

The division of the south-west corner of the forest between Kipkorom and Sonsiyo as it was in 1939 is shown in the Map. The forest is here divided into several unequal areas, bounded on the NE side by the main through-track from Kipkorom to Sonsiyo, and crossed also by the other through-track from Kipukua to Sonsiyo. The main track is used a good deal by the Nandi who go to see their friends and relations on the farms in the Metsitsi valley; the other track is used mainly by Dorobo, and their honey-barrels and traps occur mostly along it, whereas there are none on the main track because strangers might interfere with them. [487] [251]

Between the two main tracks is the Ain ap Tiret, a stream which forms the northern boundary of the areas held by the Kapkoleloc (I), Kapeitusi (II), and Kapsingira (III) families, the last of which extends eastwards towards the main track. Group № I is represented by Arap Koter, Kipsangui, and Kipsaos, three brothers; № II by Arap Misio; and № III by Arap Singira. The occupiers of I and II live at Kipukua, and of III at Sonsiyo. The Ain ap Tiret is the southern limit of the area held by the Kamura (IV) represented by Arap Koruro who lives at Kipkorom, his land reaching to the main track. East of the main track, area № V is held by the Kapcroposaita family represented by Arap Cerwiyo and his brother Arap Ceposaita who live at Ndoretua. Above this is area № VI, held by the Kaptukuni, represented by Koriosui who lives at Upper Sonsiyo in the forest. And finally № VII is the enterement area, occupied by the people who live at Upper Ngatepkua in the forest and Lower Ngatepkua outside it. These are a mixture of six families: Kommuntik, represented by Totit; Kamorua, represented by Nekui; Kapkwongua, represented by Kilanya; Kapkimuswei, represented by Arap Emui; Kapkipapa, represented by Kipiro; and Kapkuikui, represented by Salio[*]. These holdings are clan areas as well (except in the case of № VII where four clans are represented, and the division could not be satisfactorily traced):

I. Family Kapkoleloc	}	Clan Mui.
II. Family Kapeitusi		
IV. Family Kamura		
III. Family Kapsingira		Clan Kipiakua.
V. Family Kapcroposaita		Clan Kipsansui.
VI. Family Kaptukuni		Clan Kapsekui.

[*] The gentile *Kap-*, besides meaning "place of", also means "family of", and is added to the name of a principal recent ancestor, who may be a woman, e.g. *Kapeitusi* is named from *Simoni* the wife of Arap Misio's father's father. 125 ● 193.

7: Wayland N-5 (ca. 1926) 1931 FL6 Dorobo FL6 ●
Jiye FK8
Acholi FK4

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JA
102
103 ●
131
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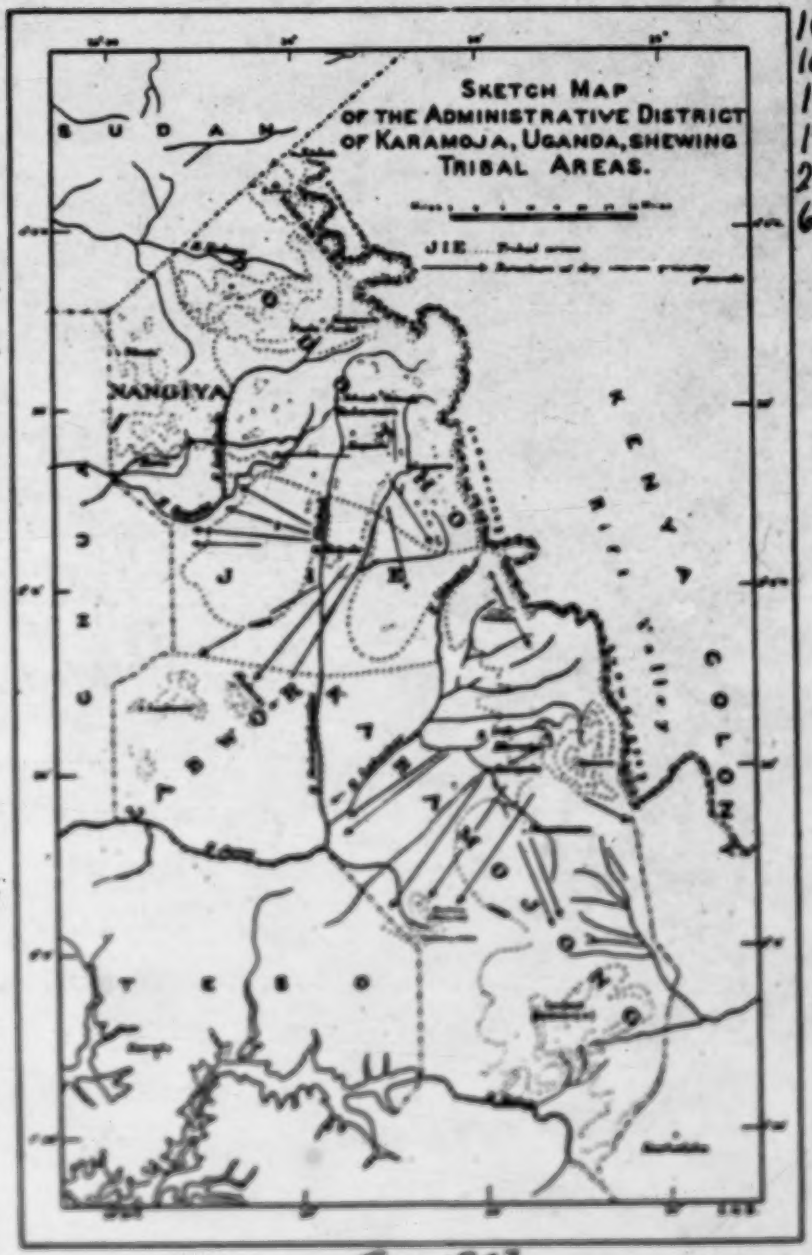

[p 189]

7: Wayland N-S (ca. 1926) 1931 FL6 Dorobo FL6
Jiye FK8
Acholi FK4

either natural basins, of the nature of solution pits in the gneiss, or artificial excavations. Among the latter, those of Kamoeo and Loyoro are famous. In both of these places the water-holes are dug in dry stream beds, and those at Loyoro must be 100 feet in depth.

Since the inhabitants of Karamojo are "cattle-people" possessing vast herds, it will be understood that their movements are largely determined by dry-weather water supplies and grazing grounds.

The vegetation is essentially xerophytic, acacia being the most conspicuous form of tree. In the extreme north-east, however, the hills and valleys, particularly the latter, are somewhat densely wooded, and in the gulleys that cut into the escarpment that separates Karamoja from the Turkana country very large fig-trees are not uncommon. Among other interesting trees, the wild olive may be noted.

The term Karamoja District derives from the name Karamojo, the proper name for the southern part of the district inhabited by the Karamojong; the central part of the country is known as Jie and is inhabited by a people of that name; while the northern portion is divided into two: in the N.E. there is Dodotho and on the N.W. Nangiya. Both of these areas are inhabited by people calling themselves Dodothi (Dodotho).

The following subdivisions of the tribal sections are taken (with very slight adaptation) from a "Report on the Karamoja District," by Capt. A. R. Chidlaw Roberts, M.C., Government Press, Entebbe, 1920:—

(1) Karamojo.	Area.
Ng'imano	Magusi (to Mareito).
Ng'imaziniko	Mareito
Ng'lepes	"
Ng'pion	Mani-Moni and Kilim
Ng'kadame	Debasien Mt.
Ng'imur	Bukora
Ng'imoningo	"
Ng'ngokoriet	"
Ng'imorimoeng	"
Ng'lupe	"
Ng'pri	"

(2) Jie.	Area.
Ng'rungen	Jie central.
Ng'lotiangs	" "
Ng'watia	" "
Ng'lotido	" "
Ng'pospongete	" "
Ng'owtakow	" "
Ng'alonga	" "